

Message Text

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EUR/PP:LFUERTH
USICA:YRICHMOND
S/P:PKAPLAN-INR/RSE:IMATUSEK
DOC/BEWT:AJENKENS
TREASURY:MSEARING
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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USEEC, USOECD

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADORS' GOALS AND OBJECTIVES: EASTERN
EUROPE

1. SUMMARY: THE INTERAGENCY GROUP ON EASTERN EUROPE MET

APRIL 20 TO REVIEW THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR RELATIONS AND DISCUSS SOME SPECIFIC QUESTIONS RELATING TO FUTURE POLICY AND PRACTICE. MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION OF OVERALL POLICY CENTERED ON THE ADVISABILITY OF ENCOURAGING THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO JOIN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. REVISED IMPLEMENTING STATEMENTS FOR THE AMBASSADORS' GOALS AND OBJECTIVES WILL BE CABLED SEPARATELY TO POSTS. END SUMMARY.

2. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS, WHO CHAIRED THE MEETING, BEGAN BY SAYING HE WANTED TO DISCUSS THE ADMINISTRATION'S EASTERN EUROPEAN POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION DURING THE LAST TEN MONTHS. HE OBSERVED THAT PRIORITY HAS BEEN GIVEN TO RELATIONS WITH POLAND AND ROMANIA, BUT RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY HAVE ALSO IMPROVED MARKEDLY, E.G., RETURN OF THE CROWN OF ST. STEPHEN AND THE MFN/TRADE AGREEMENT. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED INDEPENDENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND HAVE RECOGNIZED IT WHERE IT EXISTS. ROMANIA HAS GONE ITS OWN WAY ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES,

ESPECIALLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AT THE BELGRADE CSCE REVIEW, BUT IT'S NOT CERTAIN THAT OUR INFLUENCE HAS BEEN A MAJOR FACTOR IN THIS. HUNGARY IS SHOWING INCREASED
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LIBERALIZATION AND EVEN SIGNS OF MORE INDEPENDENT BEHAVIOR.

3. NEVERTHELESS, THE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE SHOWN BY EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON ISSUES AFFECTING US IS NOT SIGNIFICANT. OVERALL, TO THE DEGREE WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN EASTERN EUROPE, IT HAS BEEN ON THE MARGIN, BUT WE HAVE HAD A GOOD YEAR, AND OUR SUCCESS WILL INEVITABLY HAVE REPERCUSSIONS ON US-SOVIET AND SOVIET-EASTERN EUROPEAN RELATIONS. SOME SOVIET LEADERS MAY BE UNHAPPY WITH HUNGARY OVER MFN. THE QUESTION OF POLAND'S ECONOMIC STABILITY HAS LED TO CONCERN AMONG PLANNERS BOTH HERE AND IN POLAND, AND THE WORST CASE ECONOMIC SCENARIO WOULD HAVE BROADER RAMIFICATIONS. YET, THESE ISSUES OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND SOVIET-EASTERN EUROPEAN RELATIONS ARE NOT ADDRESSED IN THE COUNTRY PAPERS (IMPLEMENTING STATEMENTS).

4. THERE ARE ALSO OTHER CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES:

A. WHETHER IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO BRING EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES INTO THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (IFIS). FOR EXAMPLE, TO WHAT EXTENT SHOULD WE PUSH POLAND INTO THE IMF? DO WE WANT HUNGARY TO JOIN? TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, DO WE WANT INSTITUTIONAL UMBRELLAS IN EASTERN EUROPE IN ORDER TO TAKE THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THESE COUNTRIES OUT OF THE BILATERAL CONTEXT SO AS TO INFLUENCE THE MANAGEMENT OF THEIR FINANCES MULTILATERALLY, AS WE DO

WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN EUROPE AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD?

B. HOW FAST CAN WE EXPECT CHANGE ON THE HUMAN-RIGHTS FRONT, AND HOW CAN WE MEASURE IT? WE SHOULD PROBABLY THINK IN TERMS OF SMALL INCREMENTS, BUT WHAT SHOULD WE EXPECT, AND HOW CAN WE PROMOTE IMPROVEMENT? TAKING THE LONGER VIEW, WHAT ABOUT OUR STRATEGY FOR MADRID: TO WHAT EXTENT SHOULD WE SACRIFICE ANY INCREMENTAL HUMAN-RIGHTS GAINS IN ORDER TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE THERE? IT MAY BE
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CONTRADICTORY TO BEAT UP ON SOME COUNTRIES IN THE SHORT-TERM AND STILL EXPECT COOPERATION FROM THEM IN THE LONG RUN.

C. CRISIS MANAGEMENT. WE HAVE NOT FACED UP TO THE WORST-CASE SCENARIO OF A DEBT PROBLEM IN POLAND TO WHICH WE MIGHT NOT BE EQUIPPED TO RESPOND.

5. DISCUSSION THAT FOLLOWED CONCENTRATED INITIALLY ON

OUR GENERAL POLICY, ITS ACHIEVEMENTS, AND THE NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION OF OUR SUCCESSES.

FUERTH (EUR/PP) OBSERVED THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED THE MAIN GOALS OF PD-21, SO THE QUESTION IS WHAT DO WE DO NEXT? WHERE ARE OUR OPPORTUNITIES? CAN WE CONTINUE TO CLASS THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO CERTAIN CRITERIA? AS FOR CRISIS MANAGEMENT, FUERTH NOTED IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IN A FEW YEARS POLAND WILL STILL HAVE FAILED TO REVAMP ITS ECONOMY AND WE WILL BE AT THE END OF OUR STRING OF OPTIONS TO ASSIST.

6. ANDREWS (EUR/EE) POINTED TO THE NEED TO CONSOLIDATE THE ACHIEVEMENTS WE HAVE MADE, FOR EXAMPLE, WITH HUNGARY. THERE IS NO NEED TO PUSH VIGOROUSLY AHEAD, BUT WE CAN LET OUR CONTACTS DEVELOP. WE ALSO SHOULD CONSIDER MFN FOR BULGARIA, AND, IN THIS CONNECTION WE SHOULD NOT LET OURSELVES BE CONSTRAINED BY A BELIEF THAT US-USSR RELATIONS SHOULD NECESSARILY AFFECT US-BULGARIAN RELATIONS. IN THE CASE OF POLAND, ANDREWS CONTINUED, IT IS NOT JUST A QUESTION OF DEBT: WHAT IF THE DISSIDENTS ARE SHARPLY SUPPRESSED? OUR SCIENCE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES SHOULD BE GEARED TO ESTABLISH A WIDE ARRAY OF CONTACTS TO ENSURE
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RELATIONS WITH THE NEW GENERATION OF POLES BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE ESTABLISHMENT, SO A SOUND RELATIONSHIP IS POSSIBLE IN THE FUTURE. IN THE CASE OF ROMANIA, THE ELITE IS VERY THIN; WE HAVE ONLY A HANDFUL OF GOOD CON-

TACTS THERE. WE MUST FIND MORE PEOPLE TO TALK WITH AND INVITE HERE WHO WILL NOT THEN DEFECT. WE ALSO NEED TO IDENTIFY ROMANIANS WHO WILL DO SOMETHING ABOUT ROMANIA.

7. KAPLAN (S/P) STRESSED THAT OUR POLICY FRAMEWORK REMAINS SOUND. IT REFLECTS: 1) OUR DESIRE TO MOVE TOWARD MORE NORMAL RELATIONS (THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE DON'T HAVE NORMAL RELATIONS REFLECTS THE USSR'S POSITION) AND 2) A SENSE OF THE LIMITS, IN THAT WE MUST AVOID PROVOKING THE USSR TOO MUCH. KAPLAN NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS NO REAL PROBLEM HERE, BECAUSE THE LIMITS ARE FIRM AND CLEAR.

8. CONCURRING THAT WE SHOULD CONSOLIDATE THE PROGRESS OF THE LAST FEW YEARS, KAPLAN OUTLINED BOTH OPPORTUNITIES AND DANGERS IN DOING THIS. HE OBSERVED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT POLAND IS IN SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TROUBLE. REPRESSION THERE COULD INCREASE, AND MANY POLISH-AMERICANS ARE SENSITIVE TO THIS. THIS COULD UNDERMINE OUR POLICY. THE POLES ARE ATTRACTED TO US, BUT THERE IS A DANGER OF AN EXPLOSION THAT COULD EVEN AFFECT OUR NON-EASTERN EUROPEAN INTERESTS.

9. SCHMIDT (EUR/EE) STRESSED THAT WE NO LONGER MAINTAIN A STRICT HIERARCHY OF COUNTRIES IN OUR EE POLICY. WE NOW TREAT EACH COUNTRY IN ITS OWN RIGHT, SO WE MUST GET AWAY FROM THINKING THAT WE CANNOT DO SOMETHING BECAUSE OF THE NOW OBSOLETE CONCEPT OF A HIERARCHY.

10. DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO CONSIDERATION OF THE MEANS OF CONSOLIDATION AND THE DIRECTIONS IN WHICH WE SHOULD PROCEED.

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LOTARSKI (COMMERCE) CALLED FOR MORE FLEXIBLE INSTRUMENTS, SUCH AS A LONGER-TERM CCC FACILITY OR PL 480, WHICH HAD BEEN VERY USEFUL.

RICHMOND (USICA) OBSERVED THAT EXCHANGES ARE ANOTHER TOOL, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO USE THEM IF FUNDING IS AVAILABLE. HE NOTED THAT EASTERN EUROPEAN PROGRAMS NOW FACE COMPETING DEMANDS FROM WESTERN EUROPEAN ONES WITHIN USICA.

11. RAISING THE QUESTION OF GREATER EASTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (IFIS), SEARING (TREASURY) SAID THAT, IN PRINCIPLE, TREASURY WOULD LIKE TO SEE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES PARTICIPATE MORE IN IFIS, BUT IT WANTS TO BE SURE THEY UNDERSTAND THE OBLIGATIONS ATTENDANT UPON MEMBERSHIP, E.G., PROVIDING ADEQUATE ECONOMIC DATA. FAILURE TO FULFILL THESE OBLIGATIONS COULD UNDERMINE THE IFIS, AND THAT IS WHY TREASURY IS CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE POLISH

MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMF. IT DOES NOT WANT TO UNDERMINE THE IFIS BY BRINGING IN COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT OBEY THE RULES. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE PROBLEMS WITH ROMANIA'S LIVING UP TO THE RULES OF THE IMF.

12. FUERTH THEN ASKED RHETORICALLY WHY WE WANT THEM IN AT ALL. HE ALSO WONDERED WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE AN ADMISSION PRICE FOR EAST EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION. LUERS OBSERVED THAT THE IFIS WOULD DO WELL WITHOUT MOST OF THE LDC'S TOO, BUT OURS IS AN UNTIDY WORLD AND THE IFIS SHOULD LEARN TO DEAL WITH THIS.

13. CONTINUING, SEARING, WHO HAD EARLIER STATED TREASURY'S BASIC AGREEMENT WITH THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, AGREED THAT THE IDEA OF INVOLVING EE COUNTRIES IN IFIS IS CONSISTENT
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WITH TREASURY POLICY; IT IS BETTER TO HAVE POLAND IN, SO THAT IFIS CAN HELP IT DEAL WITH ITS PROBLEMS.

CONCURRING, LUERS OBSERVED THAT OUR CULTURAL PROGRAMS IN EE FOR THE LAST TWENTY YEARS HAVE STRESSED ENCOURAGING THE

GROWTH OF CONSUMERISM THERE. THE HEAD OF THE GOSBANK HAD TOLD HIM THAT MEMBERSHIP IN IFIS MIGHT DISCIPLINE POLAND. THE IMF WOULD PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSING HOW TO MANAGE THE POLISH ECONOMY. THIS IS NOT CLIENTISM, LUERS NOTED, POINTING OUT THAT OUR OBJECTIVE IS NOT JUST TO IMPROVE US-POLISH RELATIONS BUT TO GET POLISH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS "OFF OUR BACKS." ADDITIONAL CASES OF POLISH DUMPING MAY ARISE, FOR EXAMPLE, AND IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO HANDLE THEM SOLELY IN A BILATERAL FRAMEWORK. IMF OR GATT INVOLVEMENT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD.

14. BEFORE DISCUSSION MOVED TO CONSIDER EACH COUNTRY IN TURN, RICHMOND PROPOSED CHANGES IN ALL THE COUNTRY PAPERS TO REFLECT ICA'S TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION MANDATE. HE PROMISED TO FURNISH THE LANGUAGE FOR THIS.

15. BULGARIA. JENKENS (COMMERCE) QUESTIONED WHETHER ANNUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE PLOVDIV TRADE FAIR OUGHT TO BE AMONG THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. COMMERCE IS NOT SURE FUNDING WILL CONTINUE TO BE AVAILABLE AND DOES NOT WANT A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO PLOVDIV.

16. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. KAPLAN PROPOSED THAT, IN THE IMPLEMENTING STATEMENT, WE CHANGE THE WORD "CONCLUDE" NEGOTIATION FOR THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AGREEMENT TO "CONTINUE." LUERS SUGGESTED WE WAIT UNTIL A DEPARTMENTAL POSITION HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

17. HUNGARY. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT WE HAVE

ENTERED A PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION OF PAST ACHIEVEMENTS.

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THE MAIN EMPHASIS SHOULD NOW BE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTACTS AND ON ESTABLISHING A SOLID BASE FOR EXISTING RELATIONS. DESPITE THE MARKED IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS, A VISIT BY KADAR WOULD STILL BE UNACCEPTABLE IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL TERMS. NEVERTHELESS, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE VISITS BY SENIOR GOH AND HSWP OFFICIALS.

18. THE TRADE AGREEMENT AND HUNGARY'S SOMEWHAT MORE INDEPENDENT POSITION AT BELGRADE WERE CITED AS EVIDENCE OF INDEPENDENT ACTION BY HUNGARY. SOME SOVIET LEADERS MAY BE DISPLEASED OVER HUNGARY'S ACCEPTANCE OF MFN. WE SHOULD BE SENSITIVE TO THE EXTENT WHICH HUNGARY CAN STRAY FROM THE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY LINE AND NOT BE SURPRISED IF HUNGARY FROM TIME TO TIME FEELS REQUIRED TO TAKE UP MORE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF SOVIET POSITIONS. AS LONG AS THESE ARE TACTICAL MOVES AND NOT PART OF A LONG TERM TREND, WE SHOULD BE TEMPERATE IN OUR REACTION.

19. POLAND. THERE WAS RECOGNITION OF A NEED TO CONVINCE THE POLES WE MEAN BUSINESS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT ISSUES. THE DESK OFFICER NOTED THAT UNTIL RECENTLY WE HAVE INTENTIONALLY DEALT WITH THIS ISSUE SEPARATELY, PREFERRING NOT TO LINK IT WITH OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS. AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO POLAND, AND THE DISAPPOINTING RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S DEMARCHE ON DIVIDED FAMILIES IN WARSAW, HOWEVER, WE HAVE BEGUN TO WARN THE POLES THAT LACK OF PROGRESS ON THESE ISSUES COULD AFFECT CONGRESSIONAL AND POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARD POLAND AND HENCE OUR RELATIONS IN OTHER FIELDS. BRODY (D/HA) ASSERTED THAT IN OUR DEMARCHES ON HUMAN RIGHTS THERE MAY BE A TENDENCY TO "GET PAST" THAT POINT AND MOVE ON TO OTHER ISSUES.

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20. KAPLAN SUGGESTED PREPARATION OF A SCENARIO OF OUR STRATEGY ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT ISSUES, POINTING OUT THERE ARE VARIOUS TOOLS WE COULD USE TO MAKE OUR APPROACH MORE EFFECTIVE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE COULD ALTER THE TONE OF OUR RELATIONS, INTRODUCING A COOLNESS OR CORRECTNESS, POSTPONING VISITS, DECLINING APPOINTMENT REQUESTS. SUCH MEASURES WOULD NOT NECESSARILY CHANGE THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR RELATIONS, ALTHOUGH WE COULD CONSIDER DOING THIS SUBSEQUENTLY IF NECESSARY. KAPLAN OFFERED TO DRAW UP A SCENARIO ALONG THESE LINES.

21. ANDREWS UNDERSCORED THE GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATION

THAT KAPLAN HAD MENTIONED EARLIER, STRESSING, FOR
EXAMPLE, THAT WE DO NOT WANT TO WEAKEN POLAND SO MUCH
THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BEGIN RETRENCHING. ANDREWS NEVER-
THELESS APPROVED THE IDEA OF A SCENARIO ON OUR APPROACH
TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

22. ROMANIA. THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC POINTS WERE MADE
WITH RESPECT TO THE GOALS IMPLEMENTATION STATEMENT: IT
SHOULD BE AMENDED TO CALL FOR EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-UP TO THE
CEAUSESCU VISIT; IT SHOULD REFLECT OUR HIGH INTEREST IN
MAINTAINING AT A SATISFACTORY LEVEL OUR PROGRAM OF EDUCA-
TIONAL, CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES; IT SHOULD
REFLECT MORE CLEARLY AND SPECIFICALLY OUR INTEREST IN
SUPPORTING ROMANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY INDEPENDENCE AND
OUR INTENTION TO CONSULT MORE CLOSELY WITH ROMANIA ON
MULTILATERAL ISSUES. CRAWFORD (EB/EWT) RECOMMENDED THAT
THE REFERENCE TO THE JOINT COUNCIL AND JOINT COMMISSION
BE DELETED FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION STATEMENT. IN KEEPING
WITH OUR DESIRE TO AVOID CONCENTRATING ON THE MECHANISMS,
HE RECOMMENDED THAT THE EMBASSY BE ENCOURAGED TO IMPLEMENT
AN ACTIVE TRADE POLICY DIRECTLY, FOR EXAMPLE, BY INCREASED
EFFORTS IN BUSINESS FACILITATION. SINCE THE PRESENT

LANGUAGE LINKS THE COUNCIL AND THE COMMISSION, IT WAS
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SUGGESTED THAT REFERENCE TO BOTH BE DELETED. COMMERCE
SUGGESTED THAT THE STATEMENT REFLECT THE NEED FOR IMPROVED
EXCHANGE OF ECONOMIC DATA BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE U.S.

23. COMMENT: THERE WILL BE SOME MINOR CHANGES IN
INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES AND IMPLEMENTING
STATEMENTS ALONG THE LINES INDICATED. THE IMPLEMENTING
STATEMENTS REVIEWED AT THIS MEETING WERE PREPARED BY THE
DEPARTMENT IN RESPONSE TO A WHITE HOUSE REQUEST. THEIR
FINAL APPROVED VERSIONS WILL BE CABLED SEPARATELY. VANCE

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